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UNIVERSITY OF PENNSYLVANIA

THE ROLE OF EDUCATION IN POSTWAR CHINA

AN ESSENTIAL PORTION OF

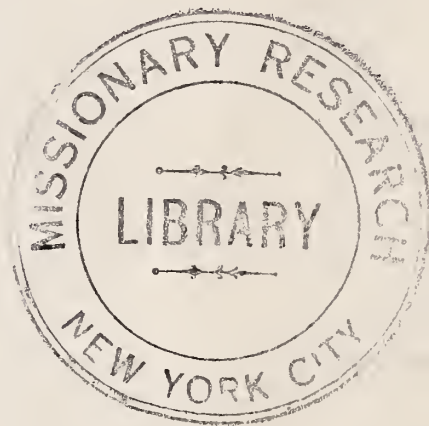
A DISSERTATION

IN EDUCATION

PRESENTED TO THE FACULTY OF THE GRADUATE SCHOOL IN
PARTIAL FULFILLMENT OF THE REQUIREMENTS FOR
THE DEGREE OF DOCTOR OF PHILOSOPHY

WEI-TS ZEN

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PHILADELPHIA

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INTRODUCTION

This study may best be described as philosophic in its approach. It attempts to determine the trends in the social, economic, political, and educational development in China since 1900 as a basis for developing a national system of education.

Chapter I, pages 1-6, tells first about the state of Chinese society and then about the nature of the study. This study has been based upon the assumption that education is not a thing apart but is instead a vital part of a total society and as such cannot be considered apart from the social, economic and political factors of society. On this basis, the evolution of Chinese society and of the Chinese nation cannot proceed without a program of education which will function vitally in such evolution.

Chapter II, pages 7-40, traces some of the factors and forces in the social development of China since 1900 and discovers and interprets their trends in light of the events that have taken place in this century. One of the most powerful factors in changing China may be the process of her dissociation with the past and a deliberate change of social thought and attitude.

Chapter III, pages 41-74, gives a comprehensive picture of the economic situation by first tracing its development since 1900 and then determining the trends in light of the events that have occurred since the Boxers' Rebellion. The best way to solve the problem of the livelihood of the Chinese seems to lie in the coordinated reconstruction of agriculture and industry.

Chapter IV, pages 75-109, examines the political development since 1900 and points out the trends. China urgently needs to do two things, namely, (1) to unify the country, and (2) to establish a parliamentary government.

Chapter V, pages 110-156, covers the development of public education together with public school finance since 1900. The picture of Chinese education presented in this chapter reveals the influence of tradition, the effects of revolution, and the hopes of the future. The classical and aristocratic tradition of education has hampered the development of a democratic philosophy of education. The problems of finance are the greatest of all which must be solved if China is to build an adequate school system.

Chapter VI, pages 157-187 is a treatment of educational implications as drawn together and analyzed from the standpoint of the trends of Chinese society and from that of the fundamental principles that underlie these trends.

Chapter V, pages 110-124, 127-128, 130-131, 134-145, 147-150, 154, 155-156, Chapter VI, pages 157-187, and Recommendations, pages 188-192, of the microfilm, were chosen as the essential portion of the dissertation to be published.

Two microfilm copies of the whole manuscript have been deposited in the Library of the University of Pennsylvania.

CHAPTER V

THE EDUCATIONAL SITUATION

As long as political and economic conditions in China remain in their present state, not much can be expected in the way of improvement of public education. The Chinese educational system was little changed in early times because China had few contacts with the outside world. As soon as China came into close contact with other countries, Western learning was gradually introduced and the new educational system began to develop.

Modern education in China has been in existence for only a little more than fifty years. It was toward the close of the last century that an educational system similar to that in Western countries was officially introduced by the National Government of the Ching Dynasty. However, it was modern in form but old in spirit. A large number of school subjects, introduced into the new curriculum, were taught in the same manner as before.¹ In some respects the education of China has by-passed the development of her social, economic, and political situation while in others it is lagging behind them. In other words, the educational development has brought about educational products that are so far ahead of the other factors of society that they cannot fit the present needs, while many people still have not had opportunity for education with the result that they are unable to meet the needs of the present day society.

The solution of the problem of financing the new educational system depends upon the larger problem of public finance. The progress of public education has to be slow for some time to come unless it has a more effective organization and administration and a better system of financing. The solution of the problem requires accurate knowledge of its present status and its trends. Armed with such knowledge, those concerned can proceed to map out policies and launch strategic schemes of action.

Adequate financial support is necessary to educational efficiency. Without unduly minimizing the importance of the human element involved in the effective enforcement of universal education in China, public school finance is considered the element of most immediate importance. The problem of public school finance in China is further accentuated by the immensity of her population and undeveloped natural resources along with the fluctuation and uncertainty of the political situation. Educational opportunities have not been accessible to most of the children of school age in the rural districts. Even public four-graded primary schools, to say nothing of the six-graded elementary schools, or middle schools, have not yet been universally established.

The problem of financing the new educational system has always been one of extreme difficulty. With the introduction of the modern system of education there was suddenly

created a demand for an outlay far greater than the funds available under the old regime. Under the old system, all the government needed to do was to provide educational facilities for only a few; now the plan is to extend education to all. To meet the heavy expense which this changed policy entails is, therefore, a difficulty well nigh insurmountable.²

Educational policies should be based upon the traditional situation and the social and economic conditions; and at the same time, meet the needs of the new, changing conditions; educational organizations while reaching their objectives should also increase the efficiency of both the energy expended and money consumed; educational opportunity should be equal for all and at the same time, the tax burden should also be equal.³ The purpose of this chapter is, therefore, to trace the development of public education together with public school finance since 1900.

A. PUBLIC EDUCATION

1. Early Stage from 1898 to 1905.

The origin of the educational system of China in early times may be traced far back to various ceremonies associated with the religious worship of the people. The earliest records of educational institutions in China date back as far as the time of two ancient democratic rulers, Yao and Shun, 2357-2205 B. C. The name hsiao, or school, was first used in the Hsia Dynasty, 2205-1766 B. C. The modern public educational system dates only from 1898 when the Emperor Kuang Hsu, under the influence of a group of reformers, issued his famous edicts. These included the modification of the old examination systems and the establishment of a complete system of schools.⁴ In all fairness, even the most hostile critic agrees that the Christian schools were the pioneers and forerunners of the modern schools in China and have made a great contribution to the development of education in China.⁵ The Chinese owe much to missionary influence in releasing them from the fetters of a traditional educational system. The early Christian schools and publications of missionaries have furnished inspiration and stimulated the development of public and private schools throughout the whole country. Prior to 1900, the Chinese were not convinced of the superiority of Western civilization. After the Boxer uprising in 1900, the Empress Dowager Tsu Hsi, having learned a costly lesson, began to advocate the very measures of reform which she had vigorously resisted before.

On December fifth of that eventful year, 1901, a decree was promulgated in which graduates of modern schools were given the same recognition as those of time-honored examinations. The year 1902 marked the beginning of the new educational era in China. It was then that the first school code was issued by Emperor Kuang Hsu.⁶ This was replaced in 1903 by a new and modified set of regulations drawn up by a commission of three officials. The victories of Japan in the Sino-Japanese War in 1895 and in the Russo-Japanese War in 1905, were largely due to her educational reforms. Large numbers of Chinese students had been going to Japan for some

ten years. They numbered from 15,000 to 20,000 at any given time after 1905.⁷ Yuan Shih-kai and other contemporary statesmen, deeply influenced by the result of the Russo-Japanese War, petitioned the throne to abolish the old examination system of education immediately in order to strengthen the nation, after Japan's example. This petition was sanctioned by the imperial edict of September 2, 1905, and marked the end of the transition period between the old school system and the new, after a struggle that covered five years.⁸

2. Origin of the Present System

The subject matter of older Chinese education was mostly Chinese history and classic literature. No science, geography or history of other nations, and no mathematics except the rudiments was offered. In 1905, when the system of competitive examinations was abolished and a system of national public education was established, the course of study began to include Western branches as well as Chinese studies. The Ministry of Education was created by edict at the close of the same year and was approved by the Imperial Throne in 1906. The first modern school system was recommended in December, 1905, in a report of the Survey Commission consisting of Chang Pai-hsi, Yung Ching, and Chang Chih-tung, Chinese statesmen appointed by the Emperor Kuang Hsu, to arrange a modern system of education for China.⁹ In 1906, an edict declared the aim of education to be:

"To inculcate loyalty to the emperor, respect for Confucius, and to promote the public spirit, the military spirit, and the realistic spirit."¹⁰

3. The Rise of Modern Education

The inability of the Manchu rulers to reform the government despite their promises of a constitution, and their repeated failure to resist foreign aggression had eventually led the people to a state of general discontent. Political revolution broke out in October, 1911. The provincial republican government was organized January 9, 1912. In that year the Ministry of Education issued the following statement setting forth the aims of education:

"To emphasize moral education, to supplement it by practical education and military education and to consummate moral education with aesthetic education."

"To develop patriotism, the military spirit, the realistic spirit, to encourage self-discipline after the ideals of Confucius and Mencius, to value self-control and to discourage selfish competition and rash action."¹¹

The most important educational changes recommended by the new government involved:

"First. The alteration of the curriculum so as to encourage the spirit of democracy instead of that of reverence to the old Manchu authorities;

Second. The enlargement of school facilities by the opening of large numbers of new schools, especially primary ones;

Third. The increase of emphasis upon handicraft work and physical exercises;

Fourth. The introduction of coeducation in the primary schools;

Fifth. The elimination of the ancient classics from the lower schools."¹²

4. National Education and Foreign Influences.

The modern Chinese educational system was first fashioned after that of Japan. Gradually a system was developed which contained a mixture of practices from America and several European countries. Tao and Chen point out in the following statement:

"Prior to 1919, roughly speaking, education in China was on a crossroad of foreign examples. At one time, she had to model after the Japanese system; at another, the German system; and at still another, the American system. The important systems of education from foreign countries, fruitful however they might be on their own soil, could not blossom well when thus transplanted. It was not until very recently that an awakened realization began to set in the mind of educators and people in general that they must thoroughly study and examine their own needs and problems before they can adequately work out a system of education which will be truly Chinese and of real service to China."¹³

China has not yet had time to see whether the numerous foreign systems which she has adopted with such faith and enthusiasm, and which she has endeavored to assimilate, really meet the requirements of public education of the country as it exists today.¹⁴ Since the presentation of the so-called Twenty-One Demands to China by Japan in May 1915, China has been detouring farther and farther from Japanese style and nearer and nearer to American pattern. Thus, China has been moving in the direction of democratic education. Since 1916, a number of eminent American scholars like John Dewey, Paul Monroe, C. R. Twiss, E. L. Terman, William A. McCall, William H. Kilpatrick, Carlton Washburne, Miss Helen Parkhurst and many others have come to China one after another to give lectures and to establish contacts with Chinese intellectual leaders and students. They have greatly influenced the Chinese philosophy of education. The result has been the new educational system, modelled after the American 6-3-3 plan. China's new school system was charged with the following aims:

- "1. To meet the needs of social changes.
2. To promote the spirit of popular education.
3. To work for the development of individuality.
4. To give due attention to the economic strength of the people.
5. To emphasize education for life activities.
6. To expedite the process of making education universal.
7. To allow ample flexibility for local adaptations."¹⁵

5. The Nationalist Government in its Relation to Education

In 1928 the Kuomintang government in Nanking became the national government, and all forms of educational work underwent a process of readjustment in order to conform with Sun Yat-sen's Three Principles -- Nationalism, Democracy, and Livelihood. The new statement of aims was thus worded:

"For the realization of Chinese nationalism, education

is to aim at the revival of the National spirit, the advancement of Chinese culture, the elevation of the standard of morality, the training of physique, the spreading of scientific knowledge, and the cultivation of an aesthetic interest. For the realization of democracy in China, education is to aim at the diffusion of political knowledge, the cultivation of the ability of exercising political rights, the elucidation of the limit of freedom, the formation of law-abiding habits, the propagation of the intrinsic meaning of equality, the fostering of the virtue of social service, the training of organizing ability, and the promotion of a cooperative spirit. For the realization of socialism, livelihood, education is to aim at the formation of working habits, the increase of productive skill, the extension of the application of science, the education of the equilibrium of economic profit, the advocacy of international justice, and the cultivation of human sympathy so that internationalism can be attained through racial self-determination."¹⁶

By virtue of the immediate and ultimate aims of the Kuomintang, the Nationalist government appears to be most keenly concerned with education. Of the one hundred five items in the Kuomintang program, there are five dealing with the principles of education and four with the protection of teachers. These can be enumerated as follows:

- "1. Reform of the system of public education.
2. Assignment of a special fund for public education.
3. Compulsory registration under Chinese law of all mission and other schools established by foreigners.
4. Introduction of compulsory education and promotion of technical education.
5. Development of the popular movement against illiteracy.
6. Increase in teachers' salaries, especially of those in elementary schools.
7. Regular and full payment of salaries.
8. Salaries to continue during legal holidays and during sick leave.
9. Fixed pensions for school-teachers and insurance against death or retirement."¹⁷

China was going forward in great strides in becoming modernized through education. She was patterning her schools, for the most part, after those of the United States, but was clinging at the same time to the old traditions and cultural learning, while adding as much of the new and practical as the minds of her people could absorb to their advantage.¹⁸

6. Literary Revolution

A literary revolution came in 1917, led by Dr. Hu Shih and Chen To-shih. The controversy over the use of the classical or the vernacular language went on for two years; after that, opposition gradually died down. Since the summer of 1919, the paihua or peihua, or plain or common language, has spread widely. In 1920, the Ministry of Education issued an order to the effect that, beginning with the fall opening of that year, the national language should

be taught in the first two grades of the primary school. In the course of a few years, all the elementary grades had adopted the living tongue in the place of the classical language.

In this so-called Renaissance, or "New Tide", which was largely literary in character, the new movement fused with various intellectual and social reform movements, and in 1919 with the political reforms, Paul Monroe says,

"Had the movement remained wholly literary, its significance would be far less. Dr. Hu Shih has suggested that the movement be termed 'revaluation' rather than renaissance; for all the old standards of China as well as the newer ones of the West are challenged and subjected to critical tests."¹⁹

7. The Present School System of China.

The present school system adopted by the National Government is similar to that first adopted in 1922 and 1928. But since the promulgation of the School Laws by the Legislative Yuan and the several regulations by the Ministry of Education in 1932 and after, there have been considerable changes, not only in details but also in its general outline.

(a) Secondary Schools

Besides the regular 3-3 junior and senior middle schools, there are the straight six year middle schools without divisions of junior and senior middle schools. This is not so practicable as the four-year type. Six years is too long and the plan does not fit the social and economic conditions in China. If the nature of specialization, needs to prolong the period of training, it is better to run through four years straight without junior and senior division line like the old academy system before 1922.

(b) Vocational Schools

So far as the length of the period and the nature of the course of study are concerned, the flexibility of vocational schools is both intensive and extensive. In order to fit the urgent needs and social and economic conditions, this is justifiable. However, it is difficult for a student to transfer from a vocational school to a cultural one. Generally speaking, the present school system of China is single-tracked so far as the vertical line is concerned. But in its horizontal functioning and operation it is double-tracked. The principle of the separate establishment of the middle school, the normal school and the vocational school was definitely settled in 1932. In that year the National Government promulgated the Law on Middle Schools, on Normal Schools and on Vocational Schools. The regulations for each class of secondary schools were issued by the Ministry of Education in 1933 and revised in June, 1935. According to this law, normal schools and vocational schools must be established separately and independently from middle schools, while each vocational school must be based on a single course.²⁰ Let us come back to the vertical intensity and horizontal extension of vocational schools. We shall analyze here the variety of periods but not their curricula. The following may serve the purpose of a whole picture:

1. One to three years beyond the elementary school between ages 12-18.
2. Three to five years beyond the junior middle school, usually three years between ages of 15-22.
3. Five or six years beyond the elementary school between ages of 12-20.
4. Three to fifteen months of vocational training classes, institutes and the like for those whose record is equivalent to junior or senior middle school graduates.
5. Continuation schools and supplementary schools for those above twelve years.
6. Continuation schools beyond the fourth grade.
7. One to two years for labor classes in factories of 50-200 laborers.
8. Two to three years beyond the senior middle school.
9. Five years beyond the junior middle school.²¹

(c) Elementary Schools

The varying organizations of elementary schools is due to expediency and are not permanent although such organizations may exist for some time to come. In due time, all the different types, including the regular four-year primary schools and six-year elementary schools together with the one-year and two-year primary schools and circuit-moving and part-time type, will all be developed or merged into the two types of regular four-year and six-year primary and elementary schools. For the time being, the difficulties lie in the solution of the problem of meeting the present urgencies such as occurred in the transition period. The analysis of normal schools will be considered later in this chapter.

9. Centralized Control of Education.

The governments of three levels; namely, the national, the provincial, and the county agency, are in charge of public education. At present, the highest executive organ of the National, or Central Government, is the Executive Yuan. Under this Central Government are twenty-eight provincial governments and five special municipal governments. Under the provincial governments are nineteen hundred and eighty-three governments. Each of these three levels is vitally concerned with education. All are participating in its program, and more definite relationships need to be developed among the various levels. Description of each of the said levels of government will follow.

10. Compulsory Education

One of the fundamental deficiencies that should be brought into light for study and consideration is that public schools in China are too few to reach all school-age children. Compulsory education has not been strictly carried out. Consequently, a very small number of school-age children are in school. The present weaknesses of Chinese education are, however, serious. Primary education, which should be the foundation on which the superstructure rests, is gravely deficient both in quantity and quality. What proportion of children between six and twelve attend school for some period, it is impossible to say. Of these children, moreover, who do attend school, large numbers

attend it for so short a time that little serious influence can be experienced by it.²² Adequate educational opportunity, now still denied millions of Chinese youth, is an ideal toward which China has been moving, though not steadily, for nearly twenty years.

To bring the problem within some degree of feasibility, something less ambitious and more practical was needed. It was with this end in view that the Ministry of Education issued in 1932 the Practical Procedure, enforcing short-time compulsory education, and the Outline for Enforcing Compulsory Education in its first stage. The former required only a one-year course, and the latter was practically the same as the requirements under the eight-year and twenty-year plan and prescribed a four-year primary school course.²³ Owing to the outbreak of the war, the plan was delayed and modified again and again. In 1944, regulations governing compulsory education were adopted at the meetings of the Legislative Yuan. Each county may set up a committee to deal with matters relating to compulsory education. If children who have reached school age are not sent to public school, their parents will be warned or fined. The new regulations apply to illiterate adults as well.²⁴

12. The Five-year Program of Compulsory Education

Universal education cannot become a reality overnight. It is a gigantic task even to educate all Chinese children of elementary school age, to say nothing of schooling beyond that age. The problem of free education, or compulsory education, may be summed up into the following:

1. The problem of funds
2. The problem of teacher supply
3. The problem of number of years to be required for universalization
4. The problem of number of years to be required for schooling

According to China Handbook, the five-year plan for people's education is as follows:

"The five-year plan for people's education was promulgated at the National Conference on People's Education held under the auspices of the Ministry of Education in March, 1940. According to the plan, the program was to begin in August, 1940 and end in July, 1945. The program calls for the establishment during the first year of one nucleus school for each hsiang, or chen, and one people's school for every pao. (Each pao consists of six to fifteen chia and each chia consists of six to fifteen families.) That means a pao consist of 100 to 150 families. Six to fifteen pao make a hsiang (town), or a chen (village), so that by the end of one (July, 1941), 65 per cent of the children of school age (between 6 and 15) and more than 30 per cent of the illiterate adults, ranging in age from 15 to 45, should be in school. Each year, the number of schools and their enrollment are to be gradually increased so that after the program enters into its fifth year and the last one in August, 1944, there will be one people's school for each pao and the entire remaining illiterate population, children and adults, should be in school."²⁵

13. Private Schools

Private schools are those supported by individuals, guilds, organizations and missions. Notwithstanding the development of modern schools, and official and popular disapproval of the traditional literary education, schools of the old type still exist. In cities as well as in rural districts, there are still many old-style primary schools. This fact indicates that the masses of the people still believe schools of the old type to be more efficient than the modern school.²⁶ "There are, however, many private schools of the modern type. In fact, in almost every large community a school under private auspices was probably the best school in the community. The philanthropic interest displayed by the supporters of these schools and the philanthropic and professional interest of their teachers was quite remarkable."²⁷ Monroe further points out the contribution of private schools to the educational development of China as follows:

"Private schools of these various types are making a marked contribution to the educational development of China. They offer a freedom of experiment which is impossible for the government schools. They call for and receive the interested support of the community. They enlist the professional enthusiasm and devotion of the teaching staff and of their administrative officers in a way that is quite significant. It would be quite unfortunate if the standardization of educational procedure through government control should result in the domination of these enthusiasms by a bureaucratic procedure."²⁸

Private Christian schools are established and provided for by private corporations or individuals. The Christian schools established by foreign missionary and religious organizations are classified as private.²⁹ As shown earlier in study, even the most hostile critic admits that mission schools have made great contributions to the development of modern education in China. One of the most significant influences in the development of modern education has been exerted through the schools supported by the various missions, both Protestant and Roman Catholic. The modern educational work of missions began in 1839.

In Who's Who for China, published in 1939, over fifty per cent are graduates of thirteen Christian colleges and universities. At present, in China, one in every five college students is enrolled in a Christian College and one in every ten middle school students is in a Christian middle school. The China Christian Educational Association Bulletin #42 for 1937-38 gives a survey of the Christian Middle Schools in its Fifth Annual Statistics, for the school year 1936-37. We thus have a careful record of the state of the 255 Christian Middle Schools at the beginning of the Sino-Japanese War. The total enrollment of the 240 of these schools for which full figures are given was 53, 673.³⁰

14. The Curriculum

In China, as the standards of secondary and elementary school curricula are promulgated by the Ministry of Education, there are many external and internal problems which need to be considered. Usually the government or any

agency of educational administration is not necessarily concerned with internal affairs of the school, such as the details of curricula, along with the textbooks, objectives and aims, distributions of hours, outlines of subject matter and summarized essentials of programs with student work and teaching methods of the various subjects.

(a) Contents and Load

The Outline Standards of the New System Curriculum were first published in 1923. Since May, 1928, they have been officially revised three times. First in 1929, "Temporary Standards of Junior and Senior Middle School Curricula" were promulgated by the Ministry of Education. Then in November, 1933, "Standards of Junior and Senior Middle School Curricula" were promulgated by the Ministry. After having collected opinions from different provinces and special municipalities, the Ministry of Education called a conference of specialists in November, 1935, which gave these curricula thorough revisions. In February, 1936, curriculum specialists were called by the Ministry to revise the curriculum and the present "Standards of Curricula" were promulgated in June, 1936. Several minor revisions have been made since 1936. Because documents are not accessible, the revisions have to be overlooked in this study. The revised standards of 1936 differed from the previous ones in the following points:

1. All subjects in the junior and senior middle school curricula are fixed and the elective system is abolished.
2. The instruction of the junior and the senior middle school subjects is measured by periods and not by units or credits.
3. The English language in the junior middle school is a three-year course."³¹

All subjects of the junior and the senior middle schools, with the exception of the second foreign language, which is to meet very special conditions only, have now been regularized by the Ministry of Education, and there is a standard for each subject to which all teachers must conform.³²

The subjects taught are more numerous than in Western schools, and the class hours are longer. The tendency to overload the curriculum, the teachers with hours of teaching and the pupils with hours of recitation, is seen in the middle schools as well as in the elementary schools. The overloaded curriculum along with longer hours of recitation mean too heavy loads for pupils. Moreover, there are usually regular classes on Saturdays.

The standard curricula promulgated by the Ministry of Education are followed as blueprints for requirements for graduation for both secondary and elementary school students. Although variation and flexibility of local conditions and need should be taken into consideration, the courses of study and the number of minutes or hours per subject are not easily changed. Usually major changes of curricula follow types of schools, especially the vocational schools.

(b) Textbooks

Textbooks must be approved by the Ministry of Education. Nearly all those used in elementary schools, together with most of those used in secondary schools, have the stamp of, "APPROVED BY THE MINISTRY OF EDUCATION".

Consequently, it is no easy task to write textbooks, to have them approved and to publish them. These "APPROVED" textbooks have been monopolized by quite a few publishers.

15. Teacher Training

The problem of teacher training is very complicated in the variety of qualifications for admission to normal schools, of curricula, of length of periods for pre-service training, and of qualifications for certification.

Several kinds of normal schools were permitted in order to meet special local conditions in various parts of the country and to supply the needs for teachers in various grades of schools.³³ One of the best features of the Chinese educational system is the lower normal school. The early educational reformers were very wise in laying chief stress upon this type of school, recognizing that the successful development of a modern school system depends upon the trained teacher.³⁴ It should be pointed out that private corporations or individuals are not allowed, as a rule, to establish normal schools in China.

The Chinese teachers are usually reasonably well educated but not so well trained in teaching technique. They are, on the whole, earnest and are doing as well as could be reasonably expected with very small pay, poor facilities, and limited outlook.³⁵ The length of periods for teacher-training may be summed up as follows:

1. Teachers Colleges, departments of education in colleges and universities, four years beyond senior middle schools; and normal professional colleges, two or three years beyond senior middle schools.
2. Special Normal Schools, one year beyond senior middle schools.
3. Normal Schools, three years beyond junior middle schools.
4. Simplified Normal Schools, four years beyond elementary schools.
5. Simplified normal course, one or two years beyond junior middle schools.
6. Kindergarten training schools, one to three years beyond junior middle schools.
7. Institutes and Summer Schools.

Good training makes good teachers, and better pay retains better teachers. This is a well-known fact. The variation of the length of periods for teacher training and the inflow of the unemployed who teach temporarily in school as a stepping stone result in poor teaching. Besides, the teachers in China, especially in elementary schools, are enduring real financial hardships but they have never had a strike for salaries which were several months in arrears. Notwithstanding that, the average elementary school teacher is better than the middle school one so far as teaching methods are concerned.

B. PUBLIC SCHOOL FINANCES

In 1044, A.D., Emperor Jen Tsung of the Sung Dynasty (960-1279 A.D.) first established schools in all the prefectures, municipalities and districts at public expense, financed from rental of school lands and from "house tax". The Emperor granted annually thousands in cash subsidy for public schools.³⁶ At the beginning of the Ching Dynasty (1644-1911 A.D.), the rental from school lands was specified for tuition and scholarships for needy students. In 1913, the Ministry of the Interior ordered it to be especially used for financing primary education.

In 1906, units of hsueh chu, or school districts, were established. A local bureau of education known as the Education Exhorting Bureau was created for each hsien. Lowest in the scale of local authorities were the school trustees who were elected by the people to look after the school in the chu, and to see that funds were provided for its maintenance.³⁷ Since the introduction of the modern system of education, local districts have been held responsible for public school revenue.

The statistical report of the Ministry of Education for 1910 classified the various incomes under the following items: (1) income from public property, (2) interest from deposits, (3) governmental appropriations, (4) public funds, (5) tuition and fees, (6) compulsory contributions, (7) voluntary contributions, and (8) miscellaneous sources of income.³⁸ In 1923, the Kiangsu provincial school revenues were the land tax, butchery tax, business licenses, tobacco tax, provincial subsidy, tuition and boarding fees and several other receipts. They were different from province to province. In 1934, the main sources of hsien school revenues in Chekiang Province were surtaxes and extra land taxes, rental and profits from school lands and public property and petty taxes. Owing to the shortage of land tax with its surtaxes and extra taxes as caused by frequent famines, more and more local nuisance taxes had to be added and provincial subsidies were appropriated.³⁹ Gradually, so many surtaxes and extra taxes were introduced that the regular land tax was several times doubled. In addition, there were invented hundreds of petty, or nuisance taxes, the kinds and number of which were different from province to province, hsien to hsien. Most of them had not been officially authorized or specified through legal procedure. Besides income from school lands and public property, tuition and other fees were charged as school receipts. School lands were always held by the local gentry as if they were their own property. In compliance with instructions from the provincial government, petty taxes were gradually abolished. However, what was to substitute for them had not been definitely decided.

Usually, institutions of higher education were financed by the National Government while provincial colleges were financed partly by the provincial and partly by the National Government. All provincial secondary schools were financed by the provincial government. Private secondary schools, registered with the government might apply for provincial annual grants-in-aid from 3,000 to 5,000 dollars.

All elementary schools, except those attached to or affiliated with the provincial secondary schools as model or experimentation schools, were financed by the hsien government. In 1937, there were eight national elementary schools. During the present war, there have been more than ten national middle schools and most of the non-Christian private colleges were nationalized. Since the outbreak of the war, the Ministry of Education has been granting aid very generously to schools of all grades and private institutions of higher education.

1. Low Salaries

Generally, good salaries mean good teachers and poor salaries, poor teachers. But in China, for many years there have been poor salaries and good teachers. This is not the normal case. The average annual salary of the elementary teacher of government schools was \$160. Unfortunately, this was seldom all paid, and even then rarely on time.⁴⁰ By the time of the outbreak of the war in 1937, the annual salary of the teachers of some of the private schools in rural sections was still around \$160.⁴¹ It is not much better than the wages of masons and carpenters.

2. Financing of Public Education

The solution of the problem of financing the public schools in China requires first, accurate factual knowledge of its present status and its trends. For some time, before the establishment of the Nationalist Government in Nanking in 1927, the Government spent only one per cent of its total income for education; the schools and teachers suffered greatly because of financial difficulties. Educational expenditures represented 4.48 per cent of the national budget in 1936. Due to sharp increases in military and other wartime expenditures, this percentage has decreased by more than half.

One of the old Chinese proverbs says: "It is impossible for even the smart daughter-in-law to cook rice without grains of rice". How can education be promoted without sufficient funds? How can the cheap school system be efficient? It was proposed and decided by the National Educational Conference of 1928 that the educational expenditure should cover from ten to thirty per cent of the total government expenditure. "Educational appropriations shall constitute no less than fifteen per cent of the total amount of the budget of the Central Government and no less than thirty per cent of the total amount of the Provincial, district and municipal budgets respectively."⁴²

3. Revenue for Public School Support

As previously pointed out, the financial support for all the public school is shared by the central, the provincial, and the county governments. In 1934, the total amount of money available for public school support was \$145,998,785. Of this amount, 10.85 per cent came from the Central Government, 27.57 per cent from the provincial governments, and 61.58 per cent from the county governments.⁴³ From what sources do the governments get the money? How do they distribute the money? The Central Government support for public schools was derived from its general income, of which the sources were the salt tax,

customs duties, the stamp tax, the tobacco and liquor tax, and profits from telegraph, railway, and postal services. The salt tax and the custom duties yield about 61 per cent of the total central revenue, and therefore were the most important sources. The provincial public school support was drawn from the land tax, taxation on registration of deeds, extra-taxation on tobacco and wine, and licenses for vehicles and stores. Of all these, the land tax is the most important one. The sources of county public school support were different in different regions. No complete data from the 1,983 counties in the whole country are available. Generally speaking, county public-school revenue depends upon the land surtax, the sales tax and surtax, the ship tax, the salt surtax, and the slaughter-house or butchery tax.⁴⁴

In Kiangsu Province about 56 per cent of the provincial school revenue comes from the land tax.⁴⁵ Besides, tuition and a number of other fees such as the registration fee, physical education fee, school library fee, school health fee, an extra-curricular fee, etc., were a common source of support of schools of all-levels as has been previously stated. According to the national constitution, the elementary school education is free of charge, but, in fact, almost all elementary schools have collected tuition and some other fees. In 1933, the Ministry of Education issued a regulation to limit the elementary school tuition to one to two dollars per pupil per semester and thus the elementary-school tuition has been legalized in spite of its being illegal according to the national constitution.⁴⁶ According to the regulations passed by the Executive Yuan, in 1944, in connection with compulsory attendance no tuition or incidentals shall be charged in primary and nucleus schools. It was estimated in 1932 that the total amount of tuition collected was 18.5 per cent of the total public-school support in China.⁴⁷ As pointed out by Hsia, the sources of the public school funds have the following main displeasing phenomena:

- "1. Poverty and inability of the locality
 2. Helplessness of large numbers of nuisance taxes
 3. Unreliability of surtaxes or extra taxes
 4. Same tax rate of the poor with the rich
 5. Confusion of school land with individual property
 6. No relation with local wealth."⁴⁸
4. Nuisance Taxes

Nuisance taxes are sometimes called "exorbitant taxes and miscellaneous levies". It can be hardly believed that once in one of the counties in China, there were more than two hundred and seventy such taxes. Part of them had been abolished before the outbreak of the war. Of course, the number of such taxes was different in different counties.

There were so many taxes and they were so petty that they were called "exorbitant taxes" and "miscellaneous levies". It is interesting to note that part of the public school support came from a number of such nuisance taxes. Still other taxes were levied on Taoist and Buddhist religious recitals. Should public school revenue be collected from such sources as these? As bad as those just mentioned

is the monopoly system. It was very common for the local government to advertise for tax monopoly enterprises.

The picture of Chinese education presented in this chapter reveals the influence of tradition, the effects of revolution, and the hopes of the future. The difficulties of attaining an adequate system of public education for China's masses are many. The classical and aristocratic tradition of education has hampered the development of a democratic philosophy of education.

As has been shown, the problems of finance are, perhaps, the greatest of all which must be solved if China is to build an adequate school system. The whole problem, however, is intertwined with the social, economic and political problems of the nation. No one problem can be solved apart from the others. Certainly education is one of China's greatest needs and without it there can be little hope for much progress in developing a modern nation.

The picture is not hopeless. There are trends which give promise of much improvement and the education of China's millions is no longer an impossibility. Some of these trends will be discussed in the following chapter.

CHAPTER VI

EDUCATIONAL IMPLICATIONS

The analysis of the social, economic, political and educational conditions in China reveal complex and far-reaching problems. Thoughtful consideration of the situation brings one to the realization that most of these problems grow out of one basic fact -- the greatest resource of China, her people, has not been developed. Democracy cannot flourish upon ignorance nor can there be economic prosperity when the people are not taught to produce. Without the power to produce, the result is extreme poverty, which in turn is the source of misery, disease, and hopelessness.

Analysis of China's present condition tends to produce a deep sense of pessimism. Yet we cannot escape the conviction that the potentialities of China are so great that a great and prosperous nation can be created -- but how? The answer seems to lie in the development of her 450,000,000 people. There can be little doubt that were these people developed in their ideas and their skills to the extent that the citizens of modern democratic nations are, China's greatest problems would be solved. The one great instrument for the development of human resources is a well planned and highly functional program of education; a program designed to meet the social, economic and political needs of the people.

This analytical examination of the problems of China leads to the question as to the implications which these conditions have to education. We therefore turn to a consideration of the role which education does or may play in the solution of these problems of Chinese society.

In China the way will soon be cleared for the preparation of a plan of action in the field of education. The social, economic, and political conditions amid which the Chinese people have been developed and now live, have been surveyed. The social sciences which will aid in a new social, economic and political efficiency will presumably help education better to prosecute its ends. The finds of the social sciences regarding the basic elements and factors in the cultural heritage, the functioning of existing institutions and the major trends and tensions of the age have been brought into light. All those that have been pointed out have more or less educational implications.

A study of modern life shows three deep-lying tendencies -- a changed mental attitude, industrialization, and democracy.⁴⁹ These three may be identified with the social, economic and political situation or social, economic and political thought and philosophy respectively. There remains the task of formulating educational philosophies and educational programs that should be in harmony with desired changes of Chinese society and that at the same time point toward the refinement and fulfillment of the accepted

ideology of the Chinese people. Apparently the schools have not met the conditions and needs of society during the last forty-five years. Much more remains to be done. Not only should the schools be brought abreast of the changes already effected in social, economic, and political life; but, much more, the system of education should be reconstructed so as to include as an essential determining element the recognition of the permanent fact of rapid and increasing change.⁵⁰

1. Departure from the Past

It seems that the Chinese can not get much help from the past. Evidently they have to discover or create new answers for the new age as the Westerners are creating a new world through the new sciences and technology. George B. Cressey, professor and author, says,

"There needs to be an appreciation of the unity of all truth, both Oriental and Occidental, and a new organization of knowledge in order to provide a suitable basis for behavior as world citizens. Present-day (Chinese) students are seriously lacking in such a philosophy."⁵¹

The difficulty is that the Chinese people may not be prepared to live in such a growing universe. They have had but little experience with the rapid change. It seems obvious that postwar China needs to be developed socially, economically and politically, yet, they have so far, failed to educate themselves for such a new age. New technological processes will be available to the Chinese, but they may not be prepared to use them. They need to reorganize their social and economic as well as their political systems. They need to depart from the old education that has heretofore fitted them for the old ways and processes. In a word, they have to change their educational philosophy and use education for new purposes.

The future calls the Chinese people and they must respond. Their response can come, it is believed, through some larger program of education which will get for them those new ways of life. The method of its coming should certainly be the supreme concern of the Chinese educators, as well as social, economic and political scientists. It does not mean to deny the past of China, but calls for the fullest understanding of her past.

The Chinese are more and more looking toward the future. An evidence of this is the going abroad of Chinese students and trainees of technology even during war-time. China will send more and more youths to America for further study and training. With her gigantic program of national reconstruction, China feels acutely the dearth of skilled workmen and foremen, as well as other types of personnel. She must train them both at home and abroad. The schools should know what first things should be put first. But with an unsound system of organization and administration of education, aggravated by the poor system of public school finance, they are not able to do much. This situation may not be interpreted as a revolt against the schools, but as a temporary failure of finance and of organization. Many Chinese have already begun seriously to doubt the value of schooling on the basis of the past which has not rendered

satisfactory service to the needs of society. The tendency is that one phase of education or another will be overemphasized or depreciated. More than ninety per cent of those students recently sent to America for training are intended to contribute up material reconstruction, but only a very small percentage are preparing themselves in the liberal arts or to provide leadership in social reconstruction. It remains to be seen whether this policy will be wise or not in time to come.

There are a number of social agencies, namely, the government, the church, the school, the home, and various others which have considerable influence. So far the temple in China has not been as active as the church in the West. The government in China has most recently done so much in regimentation that the school itself has too little to say. The home in China has been the most powerful of all social agencies. All of these, even the home, are functioning less now except the school which is and should be expected to do more. Although there may be disagreement in regard to an arbitrary basis for judging the good or bad, yet fundamental principles and methods of meeting the "new tide" may be agreed upon.

2. The School Program

The future of rural China is the future of China itself because there are some more than three hundred million farmers involved. There is one man whose social and political conduct will be affected if he is affected economically, that is the farmer. "The future of the rural citizen and his community depends to an increasing extent upon the quality of his participation as a national citizen",⁵² The farmer should be educated for modernization of agricultural methods as well as modern ways of life.

The growth of the school may be one of the most striking of the age that will witness the rise of industrial civilization in postwar China. In pre-industrial society in China, the task of inducting the child into the life of the group, which is too much for the family to be responsible for has to be taken over by the school. However, the family being one of the educational agencies of pre-industrial society should and cannot be the only one. New environment, new life and a new neighborhood will change the child and he should be prepared for such a change. It is the change in industry itself that will most influence education in China. As the traditional educational agencies of society in China are being impaired, the magnitude of the educational task is being increased. The discharge of the heavy educational tasks of industrial and rural society in China requires great changes in educational practices. The whole situation will be profoundly changed. It needs to create new educational forces and institutions and stimulate the growth and elaboration of the school. It will expand the school with rapidity until it occupies the position of a major social institution. Education should prepare for life. All children should be given a type of education which can fit them for the practical task of securing a livelihood and for the social life of the machine age.

With the introduction of all-front economic reconstruction, including modernization of agriculture in China, those who will exercise active control in the near future should now be at schools. They will aid or obstruct the solution of the fundamental problem of combining social responsibility with the possession of economic power or goods. The school has its share of responsibility for fixing the right social attitudes in the future of leaders of economic reconstruction. Teachers need to be realistic and to recognize that the traditional concepts expressed by the terminology of an earlier political economy should be modified because they can no longer fit the new situation. In this connection, Raleigh Schorling and Howard Y. McClusky, professors and authors, have set forth their concept as follows:

"The school, in its effort to bring about decisions of public policies that will be based on reasoned and intelligent discussion, is in a desperate race with devastating forces that make for chaos. The issue is whether needed changes can be brought to adjust to them, or whether the evils shall be permitted to accumulate and create emergencies in masses, driven by fear, will resort to violence."⁵³

The economic issues in China have always been the most popular topic in the classroom, the public forum and in civic organizations as well as the press. Owing to regimentation, they have not been fairly discussed, alternatives for solution have not been worked out and conclusions have not been reached. The problem of poverty and conflicting viewpoints have made the issues even larger and more serious. There are at least two partial solutions for the problem of bringing about a change of social thought through which the operation of economic units, large or small, may be considered a social service; and both of these solutions rest largely on the schools: (1) we can train more economic leaders who will strive for the higher satisfactions that come through a life of devotion to the public welfare, and (2) the school can increase the number of persons who will vote with understanding, in order that whatever control, government-owned or private-owned, collective or individualistic, will be necessary may be secured in the democratic way, without violence, and with enough speed to avoid subjecting any one generation or group of people to the suffering of too many severe depressions.⁵⁴

Narrow attitudes and traits are manifestly inadequate for economic and educational as well as social and political reconstruction for postwar China. Among these attitudes and traits are a broad humanitarianism, free from sentimentality but sensitive to human need; willingness to assume social responsibilities; devotion to justice which recognizes the rights of the weak as well as the strong, and of the needy as well as the plentiful; and respect for the dignity of each human being. It may be safely inferred that cultural studies such as ethics, business and professional ethics, civics, social science and the like, and practical studies such as those directly connected with vocation and profession should all go together in order to realize economic welfare for all.

Education will always serve some economic as well as social and political ends. The educational system adopted should be of such a type as to be geared to the changing conditions and needs of a dynamic society. As society changes, education should be progressively changed too and it should be changed adequately according to conditions and needs of society. Ultimately, these ends should be set up by society at large, but the educational implications of these ends should be worked out by the educational profession. The young are facing an unknown future. The old solutions will not suffice for them.

A carefully planned and efficiently administered system of education will significantly increase the intelligence and efficiency of labor. Effective curricula are of paramount importance in promoting the efficiency of labor and of other aspects of life.

3. Administration of Education

Whereas centralization may be possible in geographically small countries such as France and Japan, it is or will be impossible in China with such a large area and undeveloped means of communication. The Chinese are not accustomed to the rule of a highly centralized government, because their national governments throughout the centuries have always allowed a great deal of freedom to the provinces and localities.⁵⁵

As has been previously shown, the framework of educational organization and administration in China has not been suitable and effective. Of course, it is no easy task to develop a suitable organization and to secure effective administration for so enormously large and constantly changing an enterprise. The results of the development in educational organization and administration are significant. Formerly the problems of school organization were simply because one classroom could house all the children of the neighborhood, but now, because of the tremendous concentrations of population, great buildings housing hundreds of pupils and scores of teachers are necessary, especially in larger municipalities and cities.⁵⁶

Advocates of both centralization and decentralization have reasonable arguments. A proper orientation with respect to the choice of policies seems to be more urgently needed than immediate decisions about techniques or details or precedures. If one really understands the present circumstances of China, he probably will not advocate local control over education until China is strongly unified. The people in general do not have the knowledge and experience necessary to exercise control over education. So long as the people cannot control the government as a whole, the popular control of education will not work.

As it now appears, the present system sacrifices flexibility for the sake of uniformity and centralization.

Current trends in Chinese education show several tendencies to stress the externals of orderliness and political ceremonies, "rather than intellectual integrity, devotion to the truth, and social consciousness."⁵⁷ Practically speaking, democracy can only be taught and fostered in a democratic atmosphere. It is unnatural for the teacher

to teach democracy through the process of education which itself is highly centralized, or autocratic. There is little doubt that effective power, the power to create and to progress, should be popularized rather than centralized. Although the control of education should not go to either extreme, yet it is much better to have it go to the will of the people than to the government. The force which should be mainly responsible for the present system of education in China should be motivated by the desire to prevent abuses of powers. It goes without saying that the more representative the government becomes and the more parties are coalesced and consolidated, the more likely the control can be decentralized. The more centralized the government, the more uniform the form of education. Moreover, the more centralized the administration and collection of taxes, the more centralized the control of educational administration. The extent to which the Chinese government in the future is centralized or decentralized will in large measure determine the degree of centralization of educational control.

4. Board of Education

It appears that the more one analyzes the various situations in China, the more he will be convinced that China should have some type of school boards as those in America to decide the educational policy; the organization of the educational administrative system; the means of allocating and increasing educational funds and other matters regarding education in the administrative units as referred to it by the superintendent of schools. So long as education is involved in politics, it will be hampered more than benefited unless there is a non-political board of education that can be a liaison between the government and the people. But the government would not do that unless some Congressional act would vest the power in such a school board as a legislative and supervisory body. The traditional advisory school board has not functioned well enough to counter the political entanglement and to keep public education intact in the ups and downs of the political fluctuation. Another question is whether or not the masses of the Chinese people are prepared to exercise intelligent control over education. They think it is not their business and that it is better to remain in a status quo. At most, the government may intrust the control over education to a body of prominent educated laymen representing various social groups, to be appointed by the government. This is a modified form of the traditional school board and it may be the most probable method, at least in the immediate future. But this is not what is needed. For the sake of the efficiency of a public school system, any nominal advisory committee which are merely "yes-men" can not help much. Moreover, it is not real popular control. The government is reluctant even to do this. What are the chances that the government, which is itself an instrument created by the enlightened minority to recreate society, would let one of its most powerful forces, education, pass into the control of a group outside the government?⁵⁸ Only the people themselves can decide the best policy through legislatures.

As China will soon step into the threshold of the Constitutional Period, the future of popular control of education is expected to be bright. Although the present regime is highly centralized, postwar China may be democratized. Sooner or later, China should have her people participate in government including administration of education. Education is a government function but should be controlled by the people. Each hsiang, or chen, has a nucleus school. Evidently it is not a consolidated school in its ordinary sense. In China, the transformation of small schools with few pupils into large schools with many pupils is a need of great urgency, not only for reasons of economy but for the value of the school as such. As highway communication has not been developed in China, the matter of consolidated schools is not at present an urgent one. The attendance of schools may be overlapped among different pao and hsiang. The author knows of a hamlet that is one-half the distance away from the primary school in another hsiang than it is to the hsiang to which that hamlet belongs. Many schools in various hsiang and pao do not need to be consolidated but their attendance may be overlapped among hsiang and pao. Consolidated schools are different from nucleus schools.

In the course of a few years consolidated schools may be developed according to the needs and communication facilities. Consolidation of schools is sound in principle but not necessarily practical in many hsiang and pao in China immediately after the war. It is always more feasible to have many one-room elementary schools and thus reach more children during the first few years of compulsory education. These may be eliminated later as a natural result of the development in that neighborhood.

5. Private Schools

Most students in private schools prefer public to private schools because the private schools usually charge higher fees and yet they may not be so well equipped as the public schools. However, every Christian private school has a large percentage of scholarships for the needy students. Mostly the Christian and even the non-Christian parents like to send their children to Christian private schools. However, the numbers of existing public schools are not sufficient to receive all school-age children.

With the large number of students attending and graduating, the standards of private middle schools tend to be low and this adds more difficulty to the problem of middle school education. But there are important and notable exceptions. Accordingly, the Ministry issued Regulations for Private Schools, authorizing the provincial commissioners of education in various provinces and bureaus of education in municipalities to exercise control over the management of private middle schools. The poorer private schools die out easily as they cannot compete with their sister institutions which are better staffed and equipped and better financed. Private schools in postwar times will need to be encouraged but they need to be as strong as the public schools or at least have some special features such as better discipline of "school customs", or hsiao feng.

6. Compulsory Education

No democracy can be stable unless its people are effectively educated. Dr. Hu Shih, the famous scholar and philosopher, has listed ignorance as one of the five great enemies of China, the other four being poverty, disease, corruption and disorder.⁵⁹ It is obvious that education may reduce, if not entirely prevent, all four of these, especially the first two, poverty and disease. Then not only can we have the "Four Freedoms" but also the Fifth Freedom -- the greatest of all, without which we cannot have the other four -- Freedom from Ignorance.⁶⁰

According to both theory and practice, constitution and statutes, it is imperative to universalize education for children of both sexes. The problem of compulsory attendance is one of the most complicated ones that face Chinese educators today. Both the government and the Chinese masses are generally impoverished. Even at public schools, tuition is not entirely free. Illiterate parents do not take school education seriously, especially if fees are charged. Without sufficient financial resources and the help of the parents, universal education cannot be successful to its full extent.

In this connection, another problem of minor importance, affecting school attendance, should be mentioned. That is the problem of transportation of school children. There are three routes from home to school: (1) highways, (2) footpaths and (3) waterways. In the largest municipalities and cities, pupils can go to school either by walking, by rickshas or by street cars. Footpaths are the commonest throughout the country and waterways are especially universal as a network along the Yangtze Valley and the Taihu (the Great Lake Valley). Footpaths become muddy on rainy days and waterways are unsafe for children. Unless every pao has a people's school, transportation will remain a serious problem. So far there has not been a school bus in any city in China, large or small.

The temporary plans for the short periods of one year and two years, for the circuit schools of short period, the daily two-shift schools and other types of rural primary schools in rural districts are also problems of compulsory attendance. How long shall they continue and what shall be substituted when they are discontinued?

There is no more acute problem than that of illiterate adults in China. It is an undeniable fact that Chinese public education has not touched the large majority of the masses of the people. Not having attended any school themselves, they neglect the schooling of their children and will present many problems in the enforcement of compulsory attendance. So far as we can judge from the documented data available, mass or popular or people's education seems to be an integral part of public education. We should be concerned with the fact of whether or not it is a matter of immediacy or of permanence. If it is the former, it should not be so long that it may impair or weaken the total program of universal education. If it is for the latter, the program should be so dovetailed with the degree of the development of universal education that the program of adult

education should not be mixed with mass or people's education. For the time being, there may be no difference between adult education and mass or people's education. After education is universalized, they will be differentiated eventually.

There may be different types of periods but the number of years for compulsory attendance should be first fixed and then extended according to plans set up. Of course, the social and economic needs and conditions of society need to be taken into consideration. The most economic, the most feasible and the most practical way out for universal education in China is to have more one-room or one-teacher elementary schools during the initial stage of compulsory education. There should be at least one in every village so that the teacher can teach more grades with not more than fifty pupils. Special teacher training with broader education is necessary. Then it can be practicable to enforce the four-year, five-year and six-year compulsory education after the war is over. All children ought to have the means of life and growth. In order to provide for those who may want to further their schooling beyond the fourth grade, all elementary schools should be six years and all those of one-year, two-year and four-year primary schools should be discontinued within three years after the war's end. In other words, one-year, two-year, and four-year schools may be established for the great number of pupils of that age-group, but not for the permanent purpose of limiting the compulsory age to that period. They may also exist for adult illiterates who need schooling of a shorter period. The League of Nations' Mission of Educational Experts has proposed the following:

"The division of primary schools into lower 4-year and higher 2-year schools should cease, and the establishment of higher 2-year primary schools should be abolished. Four-year primary schools should be distinguished as incomplete and as existing only during the period of transition from 6-year primary schools; while pupils finishing the 4-year school should be permitted to link up with the last two years' course at the 6-year school."⁶¹

Child labor laws should be instituted and strictly enforced. It is an imperative need that they should be applied to apprentices. Child labor laws together with over-supply of labor will possibly increase school attendance. It should be warned that mass education should not overshadow compulsory education. In other words, compulsory education must be of more importance than mass education. The tendency is that the latter, as a side-show, is taking the place of the former as the main show. The age-ranges of both should be clearly divided: ages of 6-12 for compulsory education and age of 12 or above for mass education. Enforcement of both at the same time will help much for the time being but the latter may not be in urgent need if compulsory attendance is effectively enforced for ages 6-12.

7. Public School Finance

Most of the Chinese parents are so badly impoverished that they would readily send their children to school provided tuition is entirely free, with books and stationery

supplied. It would be much better if school luncheons be given together with health services. How can all these be financed?

As a result of the increase in enrollment, more costly service, expansion of curricula offerings and better quality of educational service, better equipment and better teaching personnel, the emphasis on mass or popular education, extension of age-range of compulsory attendance, and the changed value of the currency, together with a series of rapid social economic and political changes, school costs in postwar China will rise much higher than in prewar times. It will be earnestly urged that a defensible minimum program be operated with sufficient funds and that the people's burden be not so heavy as to exhaust their taxpaying power. This is why the educators of China have to be very conservative and cautious. The poverty of the people is a chief cause of the stringency of the government. The problem of public school finance cannot be easily solved. Consequently, the enforcement of free education will be handicapped.

As long as the National Government has no proper system of taxation and an inefficient administration for the collection and administration of taxes, it is impossible to count on its being able to supply the necessary funds for realizing universal education throughout the country.⁶² In other words, the National Government has its own problem connected with the sources of its central revenues as well as collection and administration of taxes. Since the new monetary system and the new taxation system were put into effect, the Central Government has improved its economic condition. Budgetary, accounting and auditing systems are being improved. In addition to the Central or National taxes, several provincial taxes such as land, tobacco, and wine, stamp tax, etc. have been nationalized. So far as public revenues are concerned, the Central Government is much better financed while the provincial and county governments are just the opposite.

Another problem involved is whether or not the Central aid should be varied. As has been shown in this study, the Central appropriations for local tax revenues will be apparently uniform for all municipalities and hsien. Do such appropriations include grants-in-aid for education? If not, how should it be worked out so that the most needy locality may get the most. The best way to provide for expenses for public education is to assure them in the central, provincial and hsien budgets according to accepted estimates.⁶³ The more centralized the tax system, as well as any system of administration, the more it is affected by the political entanglements. As has been already stated, when schools are mixed in politics, the former always suffer. No school system supported in whole or in part by funds derived from taxation can be wholly free from political pressure until that happy time when problems of taxation will become known as scientific problems, and will be solved by scientific methods apart from party politics; yet the principle that the schools should be kept out of politics is recognized by all sincere and thoughtful educators.⁶⁴ One of the advantages of central administration and control may be to

off-set local politics whose change of position may affect too badly the income of taxation. But we must not ignore one of the disadvantages of central administration and control, namely, that when something such as a shake-up happens to the government personnel, an unexpected emergency might result in the whole set-up unless legal government be more dominant than human government.

The land tax, having been nationalized, should be returned to the provincial or county governments. It would be unfair to the county government as well as the people to enforce free universal education without having and allocating local taxes that can be sufficient for financing the universal educational program. It is proper to emphasize that the National Congress should take the matter up and reorient the whole situation.

8. Teacher Training

With the gigantic program of universal education in China, more and better teachers will be needed. Authoritatively, some two million teachers will be needed if primary schools are expected to reach all school-age children. In China, it may take many years before all one- or two-teacher elementary schools can be replaced by graded schools. If more one-teacher elementary schools are expected to teach six grades, much better prepared teachers will be needed. The average senior middle school graduate of the general course finds it difficult to teach all of the subjects of the fifth and sixth grades, and many normal school graduates usually have lower general preparation than their school-mates of the general course with the exception of Chinese and one or two other subjects. The graduates from teachers colleges, from departments of education in colleges and universities and from professional colleges can become better qualified to teach 5th-8th grades. This fact has been true in the United States where the average one-room teachers have training of at least two years beyond senior middle schools. The tendency is toward longer years of training.

"As is the teacher, so is the school". Without an intention of minimizing unduly the physical element in education in China, the importance of the human element should be emphasized. The professional training for teachers has been shallow. Most of the teachers either lack in thoroughness of subject matter, or training in pedagogy. In most of the public schools in villages, only Chinese and a very little arithmetic are taught without touching much on the rest of the prescribed curriculum. This is due to three things: (1) the one-room teacher is too busy; (2) he is academically unable to teach them all subjects and (3) he, together with the parents, has not seen the need for physical education and other subjects. Teaching methods are poor, they can be said to be only a little better than the old-style schools under one tutor.

Here we face a most serious problem. How can education function in meeting the great social and economic problems of the Chinese people when the teachers themselves are so poorly equipped? No matter how many schools are established, little will be accomplished if those schools have

inefficient teachers. The hoped-for economic and social improvements of the future certainly have definite implications for the training of teachers.

How can teachers be trained, secured, retained and improved? More than half of the teachers now in public schools in the villages have had no schooling higher than junior middle schools with the exception of Kiangsu Province. These teachers without sufficient schooling should not teach permanently. But how can so many teachers as are needed be trained overnight? As a rule, no private schools are allowed to establish normal schools. The Ministry of Education has proclaimed the policy of concentrating all the training of both elementary and secondary school teachers in the government normal schools and national teachers colleges. With the development of industrial and agricultural reconstructions, there may be a famine of teachers. There may be more women teachers. Otherwise, there must still be, as in the past, many teachers who have sufficient knowledge of subject matter but too little pedagogy, and too little understanding of the social and economic needs of the people. On the other hand, many of the graduates from teachers colleges and professional colleges know much pedagogy but have too limited knowledge of the subject matter they teach. It is therefore hoped that the Ministry of Education will let the private institutions of higher education continue their departments of education, if not their teachers colleges, so that they can help in training science teachers, English teachers, physical directors and other teaching personnel. This would enable the private colleges and universities to give a one-year course in pedagogy to qualify as teachers graduates from the colleges of arts or colleges of science. We do not know what policy the Chinese government will follow after the war.

It is commonly agreed that better pay means better teachers. With teachers' salaries being lower than the average occupation as they were prior to this war, only the poor teachers and those who are out of a job will join the teaching staff and will remain as teachers. Normal school graduates may not become teachers and other school graduates may take teaching as a stepping-stone. The better teachers, as the past experience has told us, may be attracted by other jobs with better pay. The problems are many and complicated.

9. The National Language

Last of all, there is the problem of language. The Chinese written language is too difficult to acquire. A simplified style approaching the vernacular which has been worked out is required in all elementary schools throughout the land. Nevertheless, it seems to be still too complicated for the children to learn. In order to raise the mass of the common people from illiteracy the state will look to the schools to provide more uniform vernacular. Through regular education, accompanied by better facilities of reading materials, better conveniences of communication and more leisure occupations through radio and stage, the mutually unintelligible dialects will gradually be developed

into the national language. The present tendency is that school children speak the uniform vernacular even better than their educated parents who did not study the national language when they were young. This is at least a good beginning.

CONCLUSIONS

Analysis of the social, economic, political and educational conditions has brought into light a large number of problems of major importance which affect education vitally in China. As education is affected by these factors, school is closely related to society. Traditional ideology of China has failed to meet China's needs. China has to realize quickly that a new age is challenging her and that she must prepare and adjust herself to these developments and trends in order to realize the development of her people. Educational philosophies and programs need to be vitally related to the constantly changing demands of society.

The commercial, industrial, political and educational contacts of China with the West have all contributed toward her development. As the whole world is changing, the Chinese society is changing. It is the business of the school to educate the children to adjust themselves to a changing society. The immediate aim of education is to prepare young people for effective participation in the institution of society. Generally speaking, the institutions of society are the objectives of education. Undoubtedly, the changing society has new and far-reaching implications for education. Before one can conclude adequately as to the type of education needed, it will be *sine qua non* to consider more closely the demands made on education by the changing character of the emerging culture. The school program should correspond with the conditions and needs of society. There is always a striking parallel between any culture and the educational system that functions in it.

The three factors that condition society should be the content as well as the guide of education. The curriculum should be devised in accordance with all the facts that occurred since 1900 and as analyzed in the foregoing chapters. All the agencies, the school, the home, the social organization, the church and other agencies should be coordinated to push forward their lines as channels of integration. Recent changes in our ways of living together, in attitudes and ideals as well as customs and institutions, point to certain present trends and tendencies of social, economic, and political forces that are creating new and pressing problems for education.

Universal education may help bring about the amelioration of such conditions. Mere literacy, however, may not be enough. There needs to be, in addition, acquaintanceship with those components of the modern body of knowledge upon which social welfare, economic well-being, and political control and rights of the people rest. Without this, that interdependent relationship between and among social, economic, political and educational factors which makes possible modern civilized life cannot be

organized and maintained. Education is expected to seek not only the adjustment of students to prevailing social ideals but also the reconstruction of society. The teachers and administrators who are concerned with educational philosophies and programs have to assume responsibility as proponents and promoters for a sound social, economic and political as well as an educational order for the new China. They should attempt to select and analyze those social, economic, political, and educational trends and tendencies which have great and direct significance for education today. They are facing the problems which will tend to get worse tomorrow if neglected today. No matter how hard the problems are today, they will be harder tomorrow unless they are faced and solved today. The increasing complexity of social, economic and political conditions and needs in China and a centralization of power in all levels of government have had profound effects upon the organization and administration of education.

China should achieve coordination between education and national reconstruction, between cultural and material programs, between the past and the new age, between theory and actual life. Nobody would deny the fact that illiteracy and ignorance should be wiped out at once by means of a comprehensive program of universal education to be effectively enforced through improving the public school system. Postwar China urgently needs what education has to give. New great needs are growing from opportunities that World War II is providing. Postwar China should be looked upon with new eyes, new conceptions and new thinking.

The old system is passing away; the new is in process of creation. The destiny of one-fourth of the human race will be probably determined for years to come by the quantity and character of education. For the needs of modern life the limited amount of popular education and the limited number of Chinese people that popular education has reached are not enough. For getting what China really needs, a change of philosophy appears to be indispensable. Such a change of philosophy concerning the essential character of the new age and its imperative need for better education seems to be the best reorientation for national reconstruction in postwar China. A change of thought should go ahead and show the way. The new school has to be provided by new educational administration, new public school finance, new teachers and staffs, new curriculum with new objectives and new teaching methods together with suitable equipment and enrichment of guidance programs. In a word, educational theories and practices should be dynamic. A practicable educational program needs to be so specific that it is suited to a particular time and place.

The youths should be taught how to apply their knowledge to meet the needs of society. Unless education be for all lines of national reconstruction, and the latter be realized through proper education we cannot say that we have finished the job of proper education and that we have done the job of national reconstruction. Knowledge for its own sake and knowledge to be applied are two different things. Unless both have been mastered, education cannot be

said to be a success. The natural development of a public education program would have no vitality or effectiveness unless social, economic and political reconstruction be all integrated and coordinated simultaneously. Although the power of the school for influencing the change of society is strictly limited, yet it "is under obligation to devote its energies to the task of bringing such society into being".

RECOMMENDATIONS

The recommendations that can be made in the light of the social, economic, political, and educational situation and their trends may be succinctly presented as follows:

A. Administration

1. That provincial, county and chu, if not hsiang, or chen, boards of education be established.
2. That the national Congress provide, by law, for a national board of education in the capital of the nation.
3. That the functions of the National, Provincial and county boards of education and those of the Ministry of Education, of the Provincial commissioner and superintendent of schools in the local units be instituted by the respective legislative bodies and that no one shall go beyond the extent as specified by law.
4. That administration and control of education be vested in the county government or in the provincial government if better.
5. That externals rather than internals of schools be checked by the government if there is any such need.
6. That spirit rather than officialdom or "official literature", efficiency rather than red tape, be emphasized.
7. That private institutions be encouraged but be registered with the government. They may apply for grants if worthy and necessary.
8. That the National and provincial government remain predominantly an agency for research and leadership; their administrative duties be confined primarily to the administration of grants. Provision shall be made for an adequate staff of highly competent leaders in the various educational fields who can cooperate effectively with the provinces on an advisory basis in the planning of programs.
9. That the National Congress provide, by law, for a general and unified national system of elementary, secondary, and higher education.
10. That the school system be simplified. Any pupils may be transferred from one type of school to another as far as his individual aptitude and ability fit him.
11. That all primary schools be expanded into six-grade elementary schools. All temporary short-period and circuit primary schools be discontinued within three years after the conclusion of the war. Each school in pao may be a one-room school of six grades so as to comply with the compulsory attendance laws. Public middle schools, first junior and then senior, shall be established in each chu, as well as each county, but may not be compulsory during the first few years.

12. That programs of Vocational education be closely related to economic reconstruction including industrialization and scientific agriculture.

B. Public School Finance

1. That public school finance be fiscally independent.

Under no circumstance shall funds, allocated or earmarked for educational purposes be touched for any other purpose.

2. That the land tax be returned to the county government if not to the provincial government together with a number of other local taxes.

3. That definite national sources of revenues be allocated or earmarked for equalizing the educational opportunity and burden of the county government without attached control thereof.

4. That the administrative system be improved for higher efficiency and less waste. Professional morale shall be promoted. Public financing system such as budgetary, accounting and auditing system, shall be modernized and strengthened by professional and business ethics and legal government. Human government shall be done away with.

5. That the public be constantly informed of the fiscal status with its periodic reporting statements for revenues and expenditures.

6. That formulas for levying taxes be simplified, made known to the public, and made accessible to the tax-payers.

7. That departments of education in the county government be displaced by bureaus of education with the duties and functions of the superintendent of schools to be more professionally and efficiently executed.

8. That all the so-called "exorbitant taxes and petty levies" and surtaxes or extra taxes be abolished.

9. That economic ability and tax burden be taken into consideration. Taxes on luxuries and direct taxes be levied rather than taxes on necessities such as salt and foods.

C. Compulsory Attendance

1. That both compulsory universal education and mass education be more effectively enforced at the same time with free tuition and books and stationery and transportation provided in addition to health service and school luncheon.

2. That the age of universal education be set as early as children have no economic value for work and be extended upward gradually beyond 12.

3. That mass education not be made to overshadow the primary importance of universal education. After the completion of universal education programs mass education shall be displaced by adult education.

4. That child labor laws and apprenticeship laws be strictly enforced. Attendance to summer and winter schools, continuation schools and evening schools may be counted against compulsory attendance under certain circumstances.

D. Curriculum and Textbooks

1. That with the exception of the number of units or hours for the common requirements and elective for graduation anything prescribed or published by any level of government serve as a basis for further development by the school and teacher in the community instead of being used as blue-prints in compliance with as laws from above.

2. That textbooks be not necessarily approved by the government but the government shall work out lists of the best ones to suggest for use.

3. That the curriculum be enriched by both intra- and extra-curricular activities together with better guidance and more extensive program.

4. That the spirit of democracy be naturally nurtured with an optimum of academic freedom. However, any propaganda that is inimical to or against democracy shall be banned by Constitution or otherwise.

E. Teacher Training

1. That better teachers be trained and paid higher salary.

2. That a system of supervision of instruction be adopted.

3. That the minimum academic career of primary school teachers be not lower than senior middle school or senior normal school graduates. It shall be extended to at least two years beyond senior middle school.

4. That certification, social security, tenure system, and the like, be universally and effectively adopted.

5. That college students, undergraduate or graduate majoring in lines other than normal course, be candidates for certification if they have completed the number of credits in the field of teacher training as specified.

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